

## **WORK OR STARVE.**

### **DRY HARTS FORCED LABOUR CAMP, NOVEMBER 1901-DECEMBER 1902.**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Camps interning black civilians during the South African War (1899-1902) are known as concentration camps, yet this is not the full picture of what transpired during the conflict. Rather, by mid-1901, the concentration camps established for black civilians in South Africa during late 1900 and early 1901 were incorporated into the newly formed Native Refugee Department, which fell under direct command of the British Army. At this point, the camps were mostly closed and the internees relocated to Boer farms cleared of civilians. There, departmental camps were established with a completely different function to that of the concentration camp system. These camps, established by the Native Refugee Department, operated as forced labour camps wherein women, children and elderly men were compelled into forced labour, growing crops for the British military in exchange for food. If they refused, they were starved to death on the 'let die' basis. Able-bodied men in turn sought work with the military or the mines to support their dependants.

Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp forms the focus of this article. A combination of sources was used to reconstruct this history; archaeological surveys, the fragmentary written archive, and accessing local oral history and memory at the site during 2001-2008. Through this research, a narrative emerges. What is learned is that the fight for land, the creation of forced labour, civilian displacement and the horror of Total War are not, as some scholars advocate, a shared experience with the Boer population at the hands of a common enemy, commensurate with mutual suffering or black participation in the war. The experience of civilians inside Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp was fundamentally different to that of the Boers interned in camps. Theirs' was not so-called black participation, rather it was a standalone experience of land, labour, war and displacement.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp

Black concentration camps

Taung black concentration camp

Kimberley black concentration camp

South African War

## INTRODUCTION

On 11 October 1899, the South African War commenced between the British Empire and the South African Republic and Orange Free State Republic. This conflict saw the targeting of civilians by all sides throughout the conflict during which civilians and their resources were harnessed to support the British military objectives.

In mid-1900, when faced with an escalating guerrilla war against Boer commandos, the British Field Marshal, Lord FS Roberts, implemented a counter-guerrilla warfare strategy. Known as “scorched earth,” this saw British military retaliation against civilian property in areas where the commandos were active. Farms and towns were destroyed, livestock seized or killed and crops destroyed. During the final quarter of 1900, Boer and black civilians were interned into camps, hurriedly established near garrisoned towns and outposts positioned along the railway lines (Mohlamme 2017).

Black concentration camps, however, were designed along a different model than those for white civilians. Their role was to provide coerced labour in support of the British war effort. Through the implementation of a “work or starve” policy, combined with the practice of withholding food, medical support and shelter, many perished from systemic neglect. Yet the memory of this experience of the black concentration camps has entered historical discourse only recently, in the last three decades.

By mid-1901, these initial camps were placed under the administration of the newly formed Native Refugee Department, established on farms cleared of Boer civilians. These departmental camps were established with a completely different function to that of the Boer concentration camp system.

These camps utilised forced labour in that women, children and elderly men were compelled to grow crops for the British military in exchange for food, while able-bodied men in turn sought work with the military or the mines to support their dependants. Black internees were to grow food for the army departments and pay for their rations. Refusal led to deliberate starvation (NA, Military Governor Pretoria, 27 May 1901). This ‘no work no food’ or ‘work or starve’ policy coerced women, children and elderly men to cultivate crops on the department farms (Nasson 2013). Those who worked could purchase maize and those who refused, either paid double the price, or starved. Kitchener’s policy was in line with the colonial military policy of the time for doing the bare minimum for enemy civilians who were managed along the basis of “let die” (Chickering 1994). This was the fate that awaited those interned in concentration camps at Kimberley, Orange River Station, Taung and Dry Harts, which this article details.

This is the first written history dedicated to the Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp, in existence from November 1901 until December 1902. This camp experienced a high death rate, as evidenced by the graves on the historic terrain, located by the author and E. Voigt on 13 June 2001. While the graves

formed an initial focal point of investigation, and are described in detail in this article, other sources were also used to recover and reconstruct a history of the camp.

The research used three primary sources; the written archive, archaeological examinations, and discussions with local residents from Moretele and Ntswanahatse villages, which overlay the original site of the camp. A collation of these three resources in turn leads to a fuller understanding of what transpired inside Dry Harts, which this paper details. This approach is unique in the archaeological investigation/historical investigation of black concentration camps in South Africa, as it was the first such project to use a multi-source methodology of this kind. The use of archaeology and oral history and memory offers a valuable avenue of inquiry, as current literature based on the written archival record alone offers little value in understanding Dry Harts Camp. Prior to my own work (Benneyworth 2016a, 2016b, 2017, 2019a, 2019b), only Warwick (1983) had alluded to the camp in that he includes quotes from a missionary who had visited the camp. Subsequent works have cited his reference to the missionary but have not produced further primary research.

As noted above, this research utilises documentary, archaeological and oral traditions and memory as sources. The documentary research is useful in that it provides the dates that are important to establishing the timeline of events. Although scant, the few archival documents about Dry Harts Camp offer insights into the conditions inside the camp. A number of archival records, such as those in the De Beers Consolidated Mines archives, document the history and the formation of the Dry Harts Camp and form a spine to the narrative, which opens in Kimberley, 1901.

## **DRY HARTS: A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE**

### **KIMBERLEY, 1901**

On 1 August 1901, the Native Refugee Department Orange River Colony, was formed. On 3 August 1901, Goold Adams, Deputy Administrator of Orange River Colony wired the General Manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines (hereafter De Beers) that, “We have over twelve hundred native internees in Kimberley, and are anxious that they should be able to cultivate this season in order to provide themselves with food for next year” (VAB, CO, Vol. 29, Reference 2770/01, No 489).

He asked the General Manager if his Directors would allow them to cultivate, for one year, a small portion of the De Beers Estate. Upon approval, he would dispatch someone to make the arrangements and supply seed and farm implements (VAB, CO, Vol. 29, Reference 2770/01, No 489). On 7 August 1901, De Beers replied that they would provide land for cultivation. However, they indicated that the chief difficulty would be the extremely limited availability of water. They would set aside part of their Oliphantsfontein and Susanna Farms, located in the Orange River Colony, where there was water, but expressed concern that, as these farms were beyond the seven-mile outpost lines, a risk existed of the

Boers interfering with the camp (VAB, CO, Vol. 29. Reference 2770/01; General Manager De Beers Consolidated Mines to Goold Adams).

On 13 August 1901, Goold Adams thanked the General Manager for this offer. However, his concern was that the military authorities would not consent to them being located such a distance from a military centre. An officer and Mr Gerard would be sent to discuss the matter (VAB, CO, Vol. 29. Reference 2770/01 (Goold Adams to General Manager De Beers Consolidated Mines).

Goold Adams, wrote to the garrison commander Major General Pretymann that, "It is the wish of Lord Kitchener that the natives collected in the several Refugee Camps in this (Orange River) colony should if possible be given the opportunity of planting during the forthcoming season to enable them to raise crops for the next year" (VAB, CO, Vol 32, Reference 309/01). He further advised that Captain De Lobtiniere was appointed to implement this plan. (VAB, CO, Vol. 32, Reference 309/01; see also: De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives; GM Collection, F & E 1/1/1).

On 4 September 1901, Goold Adams wired the De Beers Directors:

"With reference to placing ORC camp Natives now in Refugee Camps on land near Kimberley, in giving them an opportunity of planting during the forthcoming rainy season to enable them to raise crops to sustain themselves next year" (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, GM Collection, F & E 1/1/1.)

On 5 September 1901, De Beers replied that they were prepared to do anything possible to assist in this matter (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, GM Collection, F & E 1/1/1). On 13 September 1901, the General Manager advised Goold Adams that he had met with Mr. Gerrard who said that he would inspect Susanna and Olifantsfontein farms. Gerrard later indicated that Major General Pretymann considered that these farms were too far removed from the military outposts (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, GM 2/2/13).

On 19 September 1901, the De Beers Secretary reported to the Directors that he had asked Major Armstrong, who represented the Military Governor Pretoria, to allow additional railway trucks to supply the mine compounds. Major Armstrong replied that that the Company must use its existing truck allowance for this purpose since all available railway stock was about to be repurposed for the relocation of thousands of black internees from concentration camps throughout the Transvaal, Orange River and Cape Colonies up until the formation of the Native Refugee Department (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, *Board of Directors Meeting Minute Book 2/2/8*). These black concentration camps were to be consolidated into forced labour camps operated by the Native Refugee Department. Despite the high number of troops being railed across the fighting zones, where counter-guerrilla warfare operations underway placed demands on the railways, the military provided rolling stock to enable this massive relocation. Within a week of the 19 September 1901 request by De

Beers, the Kimberley 'Native Refugee Camps' closed. The internees were dispatched initially to Taung and then Dry Harts (Benneyworth 2019).

The Dry Harts railway station garrison would secure the camp. The station had a telegraph office, wells and buildings to be used as stores. The author's fieldwork around the station identified the remains of blockhouses which strengthened the garrison. Prior to the formation of the camp, black civilians were dropped at Dry Harts, where left on the open veld to fend for themselves and not rationed, they were starving to death. They too would be consolidated into the camp, once it was formed during October and November 1901.

Dry Harts was also chosen because Vygeboomsvlakte Farm was owned by Johan Adam Raubenheimer, who received it as a Crown Grant in 1893. In 1895, Raubenheimer sold a portion of Vygeboomsvlakte to his son-in-law Cornelius Schoombie (married to his daughter Theunsina Schoombie). This new Farm was named Wolwedans (Vryburg Deeds Office, Vygeboomsvlakte and Wolwedans farm files). When the Boer forces occupied the area in 1899, Johan Raubenheimer, Cornelius Schoombie and some of their sons assisted the Boer forces during their occupation. In doing so they committed High Treason and were arrested by the Mafeking Relief Column on 8 May 1900 (KAB, AG, Vol. 1816, Reference 14690).

During May 1901, Schoombie was tried for High Treason followed by Raubenheimer in August 1901 (KAB, AG, Vol. 1696, Reference 4197, VBG 22/4). Raubenheimer and his wife were interned in the Kimberley Burgher Refugee Camp and Schoombie and his family in the Vryburg Burgher Refugee Camp. Some of Raubenheimer's sons remained on commando as rebels until the end of the war (KAB, AG, Vol. 1696, Reference 4197, VBG 22/15).

On 12 September 1901, the Vryburg Resident Magistrate, in a report to the Law Department in Cape Town decreed that, "women whose husbands and or sons who were still fighting were removed from the surrounding farms where they had enjoyed ample opportunity at communicating with their connections still under arms" (KAB, AG, Vol. 2085, Reference 53). This date falls within the timeline during which plans were being considered to relocate the internees at Kimberley, Orange River Station and Taung 'Native Refugee camps' to Dry Harts.

Vygeboomsvlakte and Wolwedans stood vacant. The Vryburg Deeds office plans for these farms show that in 1895, three houses stood on Vygeboomsvlakte and that a portion of lands on Wolwedans was under cultivation and irrigated by a furrow which drew water from the Dry Harts River. This infrastructure was ideal for a forced labour camp whose internees had to grow vegetables for the army.

Dry Harts was also selected at this time because of the need to vacate De Beers properties, to deport the internees into an isolated area as far removed from an urban centre as possible, and locate them in an area south of Vryburg and which was not in the Taung Native Reserve, yet still had a military garrison in the immediate vicinity. The farm was clear of treasonous civilians and had all the required infrastructure— houses, wells, and fertile irrigated ground already being farmed prior to the farmers' arrest and located a mile from Dry Harts railway station, enabling the garrison a clear field of fire around itself.

#### THE FORMATION OF DRY HARTS FORCED LABOUR CAMP. SEPTEMBER 1901 TO OCTOBER 1901.

Dry Harts is located 160 km North of Kimberley and 40 km South of Vryburg. This site is depicted on a map which indicates all 'Native Refugee Camps' operating during September 1901, across South Africa, with a table of the approximate numbers of internees and how many families this represented (VAB, CO, Vol. 56, Reference 3481/01).

- Kimberley: 1575 internees made up of 260 families
- Orange River Station: 1237 internees made up of 210 families
- Taung: 600 internees made up 100 families

Captain De Lotbiniere wrote to Lord Milner that it would take 100 railway trucks alone to move the Kimberley and Orange River Station camps to Taung and Dry Harts, with five families to a truck, versus 20 families per truck as originally envisaged (NASA, SNA, Vol. 59, De Lotbiniere to Milner, 30 September 1901). This implies that the total number of families being moved was about 500.

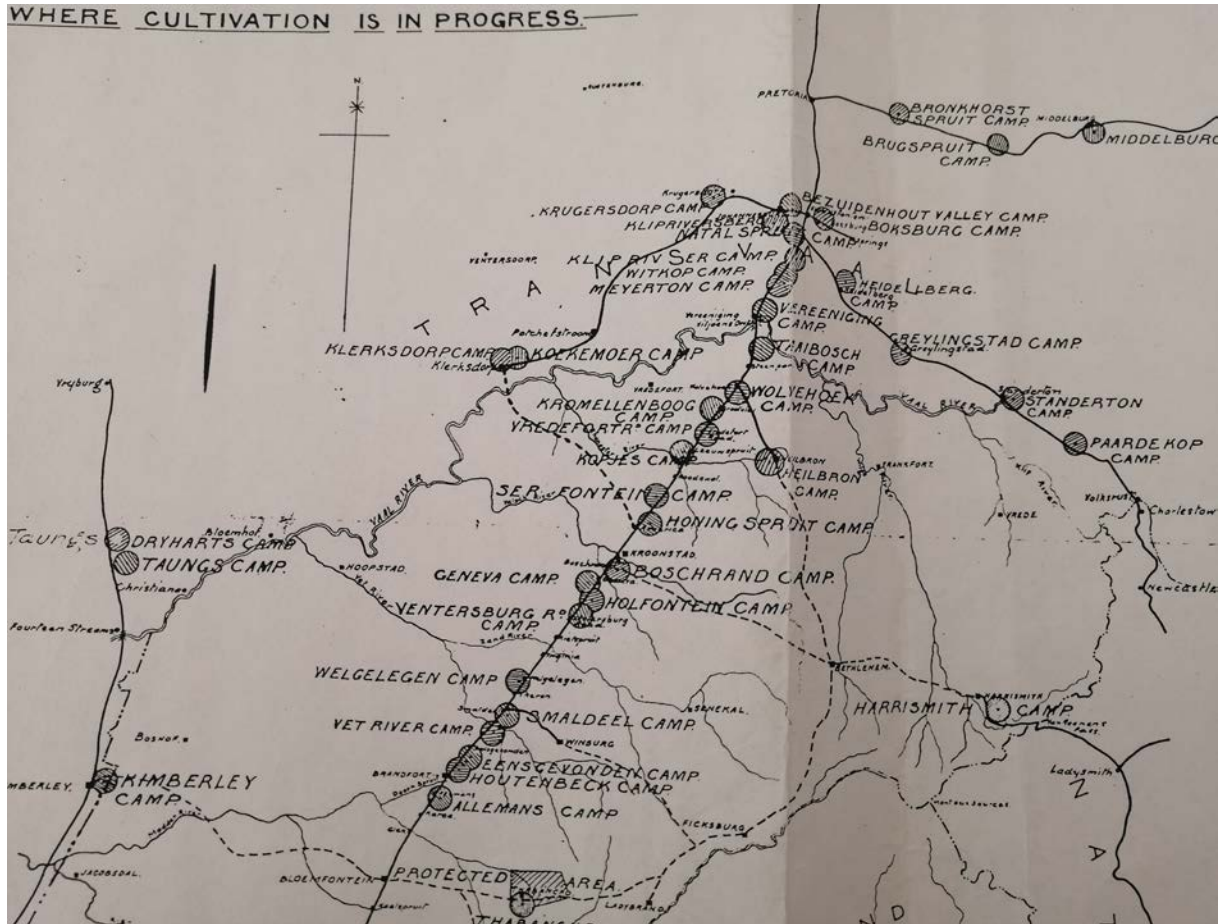
Why were only five families allocated to a truck versus the 20 envisaged?

The hypothesis is that the internees salvaged all possible materials that could be used from their dwellings at the Kimberley and Orange River Station camps in order to construct new shelters at Dry Harts. The military allowed these materials to be railed with the internees as it would save having to purchase and separately transport building materials for the camp being assembled at Dry Harts. The internees would arrive on site with materials on hand.

On 23 September 1901, the move from Kimberley to Dry Harts commenced.

The first batch leaving now by rail for Dry Harts where a new camp is being formed. The last batch is expected to leave by Sunday next (29 September 1901). Some 70 natives in work till now have left or are leaving their employment to go away with their families to the new camp. Some natives tried yesterday to get away from here to Mankoeane's but mounted pickets prevented them from going into this location. In a few days a raid will be made on

Mankoerane's again. I am informed that some natives living here are going to build their huts near the De Beers Consolidated Mines Reservoir, those natives are employed (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, Record No: 9054 Native Camps and Natives Generally [Box 2/1/36 Ref E]).



**FIG. 1.** Dry Harts Camp is depicted on a map which indicates all 'Native Refugee Camps' operating during September 1901 across South Africa, with a table of the approximate numbers of internees and how many families this represented (VAB, CO, Vol. 56, Reference 3481/01).

- Kimberley: 1575 internees made up of 260 families.
- Orange River Station: 1237 internees made up of 210 families.
- Taung: 600 internees made up 100 families.





**FIG. 2.** *The original caption for this photograph is: ‘Internees and Transport from Transport Train, Kimberley (1901)’. The photograph was taken at Kimberley Railway Station and depicts internees with their possessions loaded onto a railway truck. Note the empty sacks which would be used to construct shelters. The date of 1901 suggests that these people are about to be railed to Dry Harts; this is the only photograph ever identified to date depicting a specific group of internees in a specific place and linked to specific events. (Photograph: [www.boer-war.com](http://www.boer-war.com) 2005–2020.)*

On 24 September 1901, 347 Internees left Orange River Station for the Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp (NASA, FK, Vol. 1822). It is unknown what date they passed through Kimberley, yet they were joined by the next group of Kimberley internees on 29 September 1901, for routing North. On 1 October 1901, all Kimberley internees were gone (De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, Record No: 9054 Native Camps and Natives Generally [Box 2/1/36 Ref E]; De Beers Consolidated Mines Archives, GM Collection, F & E 1/1/1). Thus, the internees from the Boshof, Jacobsdal, Petrusburg, Hebron, Hoopstad and Christiana districts ended up in the Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp.

## DRY HARTS FORCED LABOUR CAMP - NOVEMBER 1901 TO DECEMBER 1902

In analysing the fragmentary archive of camp registers for Dry Harts, Taung and Orange River Station containing statistics of refugee numbers, births, deaths and rationing costs, three deductions are made concerning the formation of this camp. Bear in mind, however, that when dealing with fatalities, the archaeological record will demonstrate that the authorities under recorded the deaths.

On 3 September 1901, Reverend Brown visited Dry Harts in August. The internees were:

In great poverty and misery and our visit was a comfort to them. Many are dying from day to day – what is to become of the survivors I cannot think. Between the Dutch and the English they have lost everything, and there being no political party interested in their destiny, they ‘go to the wall’ as the weakest are bound to do (Warwick 1983).

During September 1901, the relocation of the Kimberley camps and the Orange River Station camp to Dry Harts commenced. These internees did not go directly to Dry Harts. They arrived at Taung and were held in the Native Refugee Camp there during October 1901. The only register ever made by the Native Refugee Department for the Taung Native Refugee Camp was for the month of October 1901. Thereafter the camp shut.

A review of the camp register as on 31 October 1901 reveals that the refugee total soared to 3449 with 84 deaths for that month, making a total of 3533 in camp, comprising 632 men, 1184 women and 1633 children (CO, Vol. 36. Reference 3481/01). If we subtract the 600 people from August 1901 this leaves a figure of 2933 people who arrived in October 1901. The internees that left Kimberley and Orange River Station in September 1901 totalled 2810.

This evidence shows that they were not railed directly to Dry Harts Station. They disembarked at Taung and were held throughout October 1901 in transit at the Taung ‘Native Refugee Camp’. In November 1901 they arrived at Dry Harts, in all likelihood having walked there from Taung when the camp opened. November 1901 is the opening date of Dry Harts Camp, when the internees from the South were consolidated there. The camp was on Wolwedans Farm and the burial site on Vygeboomsvlakte Farm. If they walked from Taung to the Farm then they could not have carried with them all their building materials taken from Kimberley, nor transported them as their carts and wagons were left behind. Consequently, exposure to the elements would have been a serious cause of illness and death.

Research into the philately of Dry Harts also provides November 1901, as the opening date (Postal History of Cape of Good Hope-Postmarks). The first postage stamp issued for Dry Harts existed from 1888-1889. Thereafter stamps were issued from 1891 until 15 October 1899, when the Boer forces

occupied the area. No further stamps were issued until November 1901. Once the camp opened, post would need to be sent and postage stamps required.

The November 1901 month-end record indicates that there were 3388 internees in the camp, comprising 651 men, 1182 women and 1555 children, with 208 deaths, making a total of 3596 people in camp. The deaths were 11 men, 30 women and 167 children. These figures demonstrate an original core of people present in this camp before the 3449 internees arrived from Taung. For example, approximately 1633 children arrived from Taung in November 1901, 167 died in the camp which at the month end had 1555 children in camp. Child internee numbers according to the register declined by 78 yet total deaths were 167, the difference representing 89 child deaths are from the original core population before the arrival of internees from Taung.

#### THE ARCHIVE OF DRY HARTS FORCED LABOUR CAMP

The majority of archival resources for this camp covers the period after the war ended on 31 May 1902, until the camp closed in December that year and cover claims for compensation by the Boer farmers and also the camp's medical assistant.

On 31 July 1902, Mrs. Schoombie instructed her attorneys to enquire from the Secretary for Administration in Bloemfontein as to when the internees on her property would be removed, would rent be paid from 1 June 1902 and, if so, at what rate per month? Additionally, her attorneys informed the administration that, "this camp was formed a considerable time ago and that great damage to the farm has resulted" (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02).

On 18 August 1902, the camp was described as:

The camp at Dryharts is all on Mrs Schoombie's farm, together with some of the cultivated land, although not much. The only damage done to the property since our occupation is the clearance of all grass from the actual site of the camp, and perhaps the destruction of a few bushes and a little firewood, though as a rule the natives go much further afield for their fuel. Against this we have thoroughly repaired the house, with doors, windows, floors etc and this is now occupied by our staff. Every effort is being made to repatriate these refugees and break up this camp but it is too soon to say when this can be accomplished (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02).

On 13 October 1902, Bloemfontein headquarters informed Captain Locke-Waters who played a role in administrating the camp that Raubenheimer had joined Schoombie in a claim for rent for their farms Vygeboomsvlakte and Wolwedans for the months of August and September 1902. Locke-Waters was advised to calculate the rent at 1 / (shilling) per family in the camp at month end and

arrange with their legal representatives to obtain a joint receipt and allow them to divide up the amount as they saw fit (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02).

Locke-Waters reply is of interest. He wrote, "Mrs Schoombie has specially requested through Mr Hartley to pay no money whatever to her father, Mr Raubenheimer, on her behalf" (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02).

He listed the amount of families and rental due as follows:

Number of families in camp on Mrs Schoombie's farm on:

31 August	330 @ 1/ = £16
31 September	278 @ 1/ = £13.8.0
31 October	128 @ £1/ = 6.8.0
31 November	Nil anticipated
Total	£36.16.0

Mr Raubenheimers farm

31 August	1 @ 1/
31 September	1 @ 1/
31 October	1 @ 1/
31 November	1 @ 1/
Total	4/

On 10 November 1902, Raubenheimer's claim was thus assessed:

For the use of about one acre of land as Cemetery.	£2: 0: 0
For one family residing on his farm from 1 <sup>st</sup> August @ 1/ - per month	3: 0
Rental of his house from 1 <sup>st</sup> August @ 20/- per month.	3: 0
	£5:3: 0

Assistant Superintendent Turner added:

I beg to draw your attention to the fact that I estimate a low rental for the house on the grounds that had it not been occupied by the Department, it would certainly have been razed to the ground, and in addition, it has been maintained in a good state of repair (VAB, CO, Vol. 125, Reference 5986 / 02).

On 13 November 1902, Captain Locke-Waters wrote the following report regarding J.A. Raubenheimer's claim (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02).

Dear Turner,

Your D/3680/ has just reached me, re Raubenheimer's claim for rent and as you do not know this man I shall like to let you know what manner of man he is before replying to your letter officially. In the first place he is a convicted Rebel and has been disenfranchised as such and is most generally regarded as a scheming, thieving old rascal by all who know him in this district and is said to have practically ruined his late son in law, Schoombie. Of course family differences of these people are nothing to us, but I certainly fail to see that he has any claim against us at all and certainly none upon the amount due to Mrs Schoombie for rent since there is but one family residing on his Land and that one we could easily shift. Certainly the cemetery is situated on his farm, but that should be more a question of compensation for the land used, the value of which would be about a sovereign, than a share of the rental, don't you think! True also we occupy his house and store, for which he rather owes us some thanks. But for our being here there would be little of either left (?) this. We have actually preserved the place for him.

Long ago I reported upon a claim sent in by this man against the Military that was so (palpably) excessive and misrepresented that I believe he overreached himself, the claim being eventually thrown out as a false and preposterous one.

Both his sons are also rebels. Schoombie (?) died in the Refugee Camp as a suspect.

Raubenheimer does not wish to come back here at all but told me that he wished to sell and [?] to the Colony again, so he is not being kept out of his home and I felt it my duty to let you know all the foregoing facts before you decide upon paying him either rental or compensation of which he deserves neither. I feel sure that it is just a try on of his because of his daughter's success in getting rental. If anything at all is due to him it is 1/s per month for the one family and about £1 for the cemetery ground (one acre). Of course I can see his legal advisors in Vryburg and follow whatever course you suggest after perusal of this letter (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Ref 2887/0).

On 13 December 1902, Mr Winton, the Assistant Travelling Paymaster to the Department and Captain Locke-Waters arrived at Dry Harts to wind up the camp. Raubenheimer “Became highly indignant at the settlement we offered, viz £5.3.0, the secret of his wrath being that he is ignored with regard to Mrs Schoombie’s portion of the settlement” (VAB, CO, Vol. 125, Reference 5986/02). Raubenheimer attempted to claim for water drawn off his farm which was refuted as Locke-Waters and Gleeson’s view was that this had kept his wells in good order and, had this not occurred, then his wells would have all needed cleaning. He claimed that Gleeson had ordered that one his wells be filled in but this was refuted as the well was covered over to prevent dirt and rubbish falling in.

He further claimed that wood was taken by the internees from his farm. Of interest is that this was refuted because, “No wood to speak of was ever on his farm, and certainly not since the occupation by the NRD” (VAB, CO, Vol. 125, Reference 5986/02). Raubenheimer did not attempt to disprove this point and evidently could not, as there were no recently cut tree stumps in evidence.

This is a critical piece of information in understanding the catastrophe that occurred and it corroborates the archaeological survey. In all the fieldwork around Dry Harts during 2001 to 2008, no evidence of coal being used was located, meaning the internees were not supplied with coal. The research identified in cases where wood was used by the black concentration camps and forced labour camps, compensation was paid to the farm owner, for example as at Brandfort (VAB, CO, Vol. 107, Reference 4442/02, Lucas Maree compensation claim). Therefore, if no wood was available, not only would cooking have been problematic, the boiling of water and cooking of food would have been difficult. Consequently, water infected with typhoid and enteric was ingested, with devastating consequences.

On 27 August 1902, Mr L.M. Gleeson arrived at Dry Harts from Bloemfontein to take up duties as the Medical Assistant. His payment was 15 shillings per day and free lodgings and rations. He informed Locke-Waters and the Camp Superintendent Mr Purcell that when Captain Wilson Fox appointed him, he was assured that he would receive a month’s salary as a gratuity when the camp closed. On 3 December 1902, he was free to go, as he reported to Dr O’Farrell the Senior Medical Officer of the Department, based in Bloemfontein, that there were no internees with the exception of the camp staff. Yet he remained on as a matter of his own convenience until 16 December 1902 (VAB, CO, Vol. 146, Reference 1410/03).

Gleeson received a full month’s pay for December 1902. Locke-Waters refused to pay his gratuity as he had no authorisation to do so. Gleeson was presented with his share of a mess bill for £2, which he paid under protest and later claimed that he incurred this cost as the staff had not received their rations for December 1902. He then visited Wilson Fox in Bloemfontein and demanded his gratuity. Wilson Fox denied that this was ever agreed to (VAB, CO, Vol. 146, Reference 1410/03).

Gleeson did not let the matter rest and wrote to Joseph Chamberlain the Colonial Secretary and to Lord Milner. The ensuing correspondence around this issue offers a glimpse into the conditions inside the camp.

On 4 March 1903, Captain Wilson Fox wrote:

Had I known as much about Mr Gleeson as I do now, he would have been summarily dismissed for gross neglect of duty, as he was directly responsible for the sending away from the Camp a number of natives who were in an unfit condition and suffering from a severe epidemic of scurvy, a fact which he altogether omitted to report to the S.M.O.

Owing to what can only be described as culpable negligence, some of these unfortunate people actually died on the road, and some on arrival at their destination, and I have just paid the sum of £33.8.0 to the District Surgeon at Jacobsdal for extra attendance on these people (VAB, CO, Vol. 146, Reference 1410/03).

Dr O' Farrell substantiated this by reporting that, "towards the close of his services, I was not at all satisfied, and even if there has been a question of a honorarium it should certainly not have been granted in his case" (VAB, CO, Vol. 146, Reference 1410/03). In none of the archival records uncovered is there any indication that a medical officer was stationed at Dry Harts, other than Dr O' Farrell visiting the camp in the second week of February 1902 (VAB, CO, Vol. 54, Reference 326/02). No surviving records indicate that the camp had a medical assistant until Gleeson's arrival in August 1902. That scurvy is referred to as a "severe epidemic" is revealing, in that it is not an 'epidemic', rather it is a developed condition.

Scurvy is caused by the lack of vitamin C, and is one of the diseases accompanying malnutrition. If untreated, scurvy is fatal. Symptoms are initial fatigue, followed by formation of spots on the skin, spongy gums, and bleeding from the mucous membranes. Spots are most abundant on the thighs and legs. A person may appear pale, feel depressed, and be partially immobilised. As scurvy advances, there can be open, suppurating wounds, loss of teeth, yellow skin, fever, neuropathy and finally death from bleeding. Treatment is through a vitamin C-rich diet, and complete recovery takes less than two weeks (Victoria State Government Australia 2020).

The fact that Gleeson did not diagnose or treat these internees instead sending them back to Jacobsdal where they died on route or after arrival was described by Wilson Fox as constituting culpable negligence. The camp Superintendent and Captain Locke-Waters did nothing. The fact that scurvy existed to such a fatally severe degree, this being after the end of the war when supply interruptions to the logistics would have decreased is telling. This would have been worse prior to the end of the war when supply interruptions were more frequent.

This incidence of scurvy here was not isolated. Scurvy occurred elsewhere at around the time that Gleeson assumed his duties. De Lotbiniere reported that the death rate in the camps increased during August 1902 from 3.5 to 3.6 per thousand. Either he was extremely ignorant or, more likely, his monthly reports require greater scrutiny, for he recorded the cause as due to:

An outbreak of scurvy among the boys working in the towns, and taken by them back to the camps. The Medical Officers in each district are taking every care to check this outbreak, and I hope to be able to report next month that the disease had been checked (VAB, CO, Vol. 105, Reference 4316/01).

One other clue as to medical and health conditions at Dry Harts is found in the monthly returns in the Colonial Office Archive. Many authors relate that internees in the black concentration camps could purchase 'medical comforts'. Apparently salt and milk were distributed free of charge. Those who worked, and could afford them, could buy luxury articles such as sorghum, sugar, coffee, syrup, tea and tobacco as part of their medical comforts (Pretorius 2014). However, the monthly returns suggest otherwise. In Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp medical comforts were only available for three of the twelve months that the camp existed. April 1902, recorded the highest cash takings; during the same month that the monthly return column for recording deaths ceased.

Given scurvy, the quantity of foodstuffs issued is relevant in that with the exception of June 1902, internees did not have to pay for their rations. This meant that everyone was working, having lost all their material wealth with which to resist forced labour by purchasing food. In November 1901, 3388 internees received 129 000 lbs. of food issues, averaging 38 lbs. per person. In January 1902, 3405 people received 104 000 lbs. averaging 30 lbs. per person. In February 1902, 3190 people received 66 926 lbs. averaging 21 lbs. per person. March food issues averaged 24 lbs. per person, April 18 lbs. June and August there is no entry against food issued. The lowest amount per person was April 1902, a month which the returns reflect no deaths listed against the death column.

Nutrition fluctuated, in all likelihood due to supply interruptions along the railway system. The primary food stuff issued was mealie meal, which is ground maize. Without a diet of protein and existing only on maize, the internees would have developed pellagra, another nutritional deficiency (Ngan 2003). Current memory in Dry Harts is of poisoned pap being the cause of death, meaning the mealie meal became contaminated. The internees were dying of typhoid, starvation, scurvy, pellagra and malnutrition under conditions of appalling neglect until the camp closed in December 1902. Yet Purcell and Locke-Waters remained silent and did nothing. They covered it up. From April 1902, onwards they ceased forwarding death statistics to headquarters to be entered in the monthly returns (VAB, CO, Vol. 88, Reference 2991/02 and VAB, CO, Vol. 105, Reference 4316/02).



## ORAL TRADITIONS AND MEMORY AT DRY HARTS

"The British took the Africans off the land, and then treated them like slaves" (Kleinjan Maruping, as quoted in Phillips 2001).

Between June 2001 and July 2008, the author had numerous informal conversations with the local residents from Moretele and Ntswanahatse villages who approached the archaeological survey team. These conversations were written down in the author's field notebook immediately after they occurred. When enquiring as to what had happened, while standing in the vicinity of the burial site, their answers were all in similar vein: that the people buried here have no connection to the current residents. They related that when the villages of Moretele and Ntswanahatse were developed in the late 1940s, the graves were already there.

The first person interviewed was Mr. John Baartman, born 27 June 1926, on Vygeboomsvlakte Farm (J. Baartman, Ntswanahatse, 16 June 2011). He pointed out the burial site on 13 June 2001. Mr. Baartman went by the title of Oompie. His father's name was Andries Baartman who fought in the War initially with the Schweizer-Reineke Commando. Later he worked on the Kimberley Mines.

Oompie related that the people buried there died of poisoned pap and that his father, who was in the camp had told him this. This is the original source of this oral history, a memory of fear and misery. Locke-Waters recorded that on 1 November 1902 there was one family left on the farm (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02). This was Andries Baartman and his wife Maria Kraalshoek, Oompie's parents. Oompie related that his parents remained on the farm immediately after the war and were the only family to do so. Growing up, he recalled no other black people on the farm.

This account of poisoned pap is a consistent memory amongst the elderly residents of Moretele and Ntswanahatse. On 28 October 2001, during an interview with the BBC, Klein Jan Maruping, then in his 80s, related that his father had also served with the Boer forces and that he understood that the people died of poisoned pap (Phillips 2001).

On the 30 May 2007, the author had a discussion with three men. The eldest said that he had lived on the farm since 1938 and that the whites left in 1939. He recalled that there were at that time only three black families living on the farm. Black settlers came later with lots of cattle because there was always a lot of water here, especially at the Raubenheimer well.

He had no recollection of an agricultural furrow but did say that they used to plough next to the school and that the Raubenheimers ploughed extensively on the other side of the river towards the station. (These fields show up on aerial photographs). He said that there used to be an

orchard at “the old house” (Raubenheimer’s house). He stated that no-one now living in the villages knew anything about the graves, but that there was a story connected to their eating “geel pap”.

On 23 June 2008, Mr. David Sebogo related that he had grown up in the village and was born in the 1950s (D. Sebogo, Ntswanahatse, 23 June 2008). He did not know who was buried there yet confirmed the oral tradition that they were poisoned through their mealie meal and that they died in masses. He said that the poisoning was deliberate by the farmer. He indicated with his hand that there was a mill in the vicinity of Dry Harts Station. According to what he had heard, the people connected to the burial site worked in the mill and took their mealies there for grinding and when they got the grain back the farmer had poisoned them.

He recalled that the grave mounds were nearly a metre high with demarcated paths between the graves. A wild fruit, which grew prolifically in the graveyard, was eaten by the locals who also grazed their goats in the graveyard. The gravestones were engraved and the locals could clearly read the names engraved on the stones.

He remembered the old man Baartman, whom he said was a “coloured”. He implied that he knew him well and distinctly remembered him and it seemed from Mr. Sebogo’s description that Baartman may have enjoyed some form of status in the community.

He recalled rubbish dumps on the farm when he was a child and that they were in the area, between Wolwedans Farm and the graveyard. The ration tins were not all rusted then and were not found in one demarcated area but were remembered as being located in haphazard vicinities.

On 25 June 2008, while surveying the cemetery an elderly man related that the cause of death for those buried in the graveyard was from drinking poisoned water. On 4 July 2008, two elderly men, local persons of influence, related that they had lived in the village from around the 1940s, and that at that time there were not many people residing there. The village grew to its current appearance during the 1980s. The local people have no known connection to the people buried in the graveyard. They were adamant that any local claiming to know anything about the burials or the history connected to this graveyard would be “talking nonsense” as no one knew the story.

According to them, the only person who knew what happened was “Ou Baartman” otherwise known as Oompie Baartman. One of the men said he remembered Oompie Baartman clearly, when he trekked to the village as a child and they found Baartman there, living in the house. Baartman had worked with the “whites” who were here and was the only one who knew what happened. Baartman had died and his son, who was born on the Farm became known as Oompie Baartman. Ou Baartman

senior had told these men's fathers, when they arrived on the farm, that the people buried there died from poisoned pap.

This distinction between the Baartmans is of importance in that the son born on the farm, would have been John Baartman, known as Oompie whom the author met in 2001. Ou Baartman, whose first name was Andries, was his father.

What does this oral history tell us when combined with the fragmentary archive and the reality of at least 2000 graves in the cemetery?

The people buried in the cemetery worked to produce mealies which were given to the authorities to be milled. It is possible that the mealie meal that they were issued became contaminated by the water used to prepare food and for drinking purposes. Ingesting the food and water would have killed them en masse.

Is there any archival material that supports this hypothesis?

A published account of Kotie Steenkamp's war memories in 2015 supports this. Steenkamp came from Groenpunt Farm in the Boshof District and evaded capture throughout the war by constantly moving around the veld. Koos and Leentjie, two of her employees, joined her. However, they fell into British hands after becoming exhausted and dispirited and were sent to Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp. In 1904, two years after the camp closed, Koos returned to Groenpunt. He told Steenkamp that once inside the camp their situation worsened and that they virtually starved to death (Constantine 2014).

When the war ended and the camp closed only Andries Baartman's family remained on the Farm. Baartman had served with the British forces and, interned in the camp, worked with the camp authorities and related later to his son and the new settlers in the 1940s that the primary cause of death was poisoned pap. This pap was geel pap, an animal feed such as oats, so it is likely that the milling that is remembered may have involved producing Sowans Stew, based on the Mafeking siege model.

Sowans Stew was made from oats (horse feed) which was further economised by the military who invented a process called Sowans Stew. During the 1899-1900 Siege of Mafeking, the flour from the oats was first extracted and used to bake bread for the white inhabitants through a process whereby the oats were winnowed, cleaned, kiln dried, ground and steamed, sieved twice and then baked. The husks were then sold to the black civilians (Benneyworth 2017). Sowans Stew was also provided to black internees in the Vryburg concentration camps during the same time as that of Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp (Benneyworth 2017).

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The archaeological survey started in 2001 and concluded in 2008, undertaken in block periods of time during this timeframe. It comprised of foot surveys of the entire terrain on the original farms of Vygeboomsvlakte and Wolwedans farms, on which the camp was located. All identifiable key features, such as graves, surviving buildings and ruins, rubbish dumps, trees and wells were plotted using a GPS. The only non-invasive grid survey undertaken was in the cemetery, which sought to count the grave mounds and record gravestone particulars and any surviving surface scatters. Concurrent with this were interviews and discussions with elderly local residents who had memory of the site.

In February 2001, the author first visited the Dry Harts area and tried to locate the camp. In April 2001, Elizabeth Voigt who had recently retired as Director of the McGregor Museum was invited to join this quest. After exploring the veld and the hills overlooking Moretele and Ntswanahatse villages, contact with Oompie John Baartman was established. Baartman lived in what appeared to be the oldest building on the edge of the village and, based on a tall tree and the fact the building was built from stone, Benneyworth and Voigt surmised that it may have been there during the time of camp and formed part of the camp's infrastructure. Baartman guided them to the cemetery on 13 June 2001.



**FIG 3.** Overall view of the Dry Harts area. The cemetery is at the northern edge of the camp which lay immediately to the south, its living area and rubbish dumps overlaid by the contemporary village of Ntswanahatse. Google earth. Imagery Date: 12/17/2014. 27°19'16.29" S 24°41'53.73" E. Elevation 1115 m, eye altitude 5.92 km.

Throughout 2001, an understanding of the landscape and identified features that may have survived from the camp was gained. During 25 to 31 May 2007, fieldwork and GPS plotting of all surviving features was conducted.

The original farm deed depicted three buildings, a furrow and irrigated lands. The camp authorities referred to using these buildings and wells. The author and Voigt located these and old trees that originated from the camp era, assisting as historic landmarks to help interpret the terrain beyond the cemetery of the forced labour camp. During June to July 2008, they returned and surveyed the cemetery.

### **BUILDINGS, WELLS AND RUBBISH DUMPS.**

The fieldwork involved locating and plotting the following ruins and structures linked to the Raubenheimer and Schoombie period of occupation. All structures on their properties were used by the British Army and formed key points. Local people assisted the fieldwork, in particular Naomi Baartman (Oompie's daughter) who told us what the various structures were for; narrowing down the older structures linked to the camp.

To the East, a short distance from the Bartman residence, on a rise jutting out into the river is a dump which yielded British ration tins and glass. Some of the tins and a button were marked VR, referring to Victoria Regina, their manufacture predating January 1901. The dump included two crimped British Army .303 bullets. It is usual to find crimped cartridges at British Army camp sites, as the cordite inside was used as a firelighter. In the veld nearby was a surface scatter linked to the military where a blue enamel British Army issue water bottle, boot polish, Bourneville Cocoa tins and other artefacts, all associated with British troops were located. This evidence along with soot is linked to the camp authorities billeted in this area.

During the surveys a rubbish dump from the camp itself was never located. A theory tested was that the internees dumped their refuse in the river bed. A search extending for three kilometres downstream of the camp area produced no evidence thereof. The conclusion is that no camp rubbish was dumped in the river. The camp living area was also searched yet no trace of the dump was found.

Three buildings and four wells were located. On the original Wolwedans Farm are two very typical rural Boer houses, the only ones of their type in the village. The main one is a typical Northern Cape house, complete with stoepkamers and an add-on kitchen. The one nearby is similar. Both houses overlook the river, as they would have done in the early 1900s.

Four wells from the period were located, two on Wolwedans and two on Vygeboomsvlakte. These wells are located in the river bed, logical as they would hold water long after the river had

dried up. These are deep; at least six to eight metres. They remain open and visible beneath ground level, so they could have been even deeper when in use. They are referred to by Captain Locke-Waters when disputing Raubenheimer's claim (VAB, CO Vol. 87, Ref 2887/02).

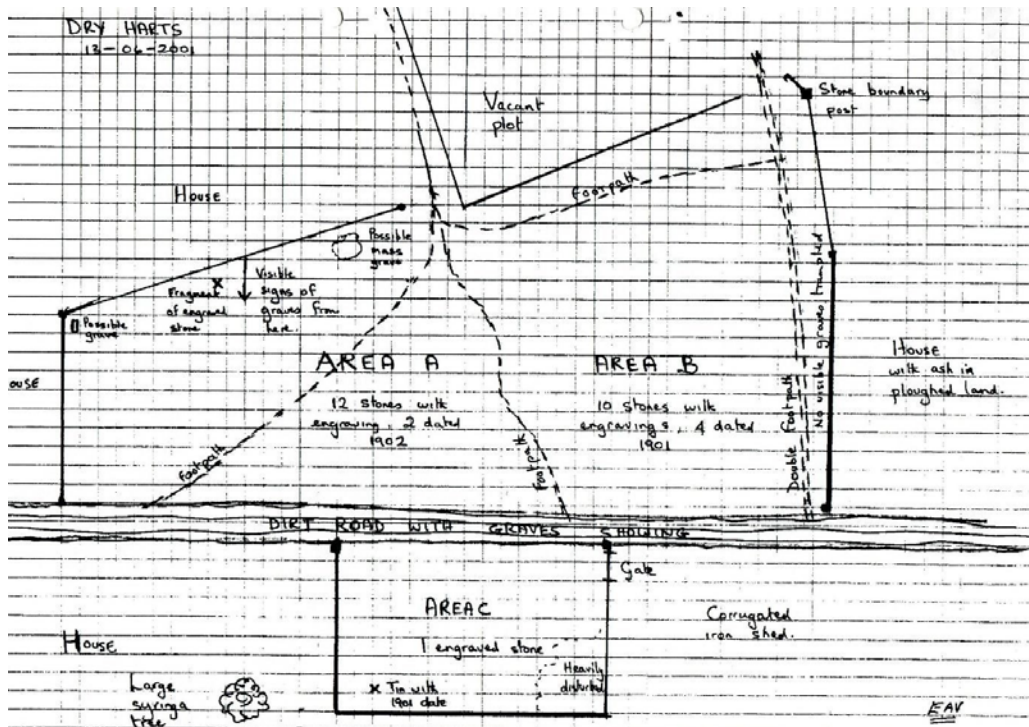
The irrigated lands are today open veld. Having mapped the main points of the camp it was concluded that the original camp living areas existed beneath Ntswanahatse and Moretele villages, the landscape being cleared and compacted by the camp inhabitants and hence an ideal place to settle when black settlers began to arrive in the 1940s.

### **DRY HARTS FORCED LABOUR CAMP CEMETERY.**

In 2001 the initial estimate of graves was approximately 2000. Archival records reflect that Raubenheimer was compensated for an acre of land (4000 square metres) which the cemetery occupied (VAB, CO, Vol. 87, Reference 2887/02). Local informants advised that the ground was never built upon because of the numerous oval calcrete heaps, which form the grave mounds and the upright head and foot stones still mark graves.

Vygeboomsvlakte Farm has three distinct burial areas as depicted in Figure 2, these are described as Areas A, B and C. Area C contains approximately 600 graves, based on an archaeological survey, with only one engraved headstone. Area B has stones dated 1901 and Area A stones engraved 1902; both areas containing approximately 1000 to 1500 graves. The hypothesis is that Area C is the burial site of those civilians already at Dry Harts before the formation of the camp and once formed, burials continued in Areas B and finally A.

However, the current visible area of the burial site is slightly less than one acre. On the Eastern side there is a fenced off area with a large corrugated iron shed, which could be built on top of some graves linked to Area C.



**FIG 4.** Sketch plan of Dry Harts Camp cemetery by E. Voigt, 13 June 2001 (author's collection). The approximate size of the area is 4000 m<sup>2</sup> (one acre), with distance coordinates depicted in Fig. 5.



**FIG 5.** Contemporary landscape of the Dry Harts Camp cemetery. Three areas in the burial site appear to be separate from one another and are referred to as Areas A, B and C. This is based on the position of dated stones and the two footpaths, the central one dividing Area A and B which is prominent. The track through Area A is less distinct. A dirt road divides Areas A and B from Area C. This formed the foundation for all future surveys linked to these three respective

*areas. Google earth. Imagery date: 12/17/2014. 27°18'15.64"S 24°41'53.73"E. Elevation 1115 m, eye altitude 1.38 km.*

Although graves may exist under the dirt road, based on protruding cobbles, no evidence was found during later surveys in 2007 and 2008. Therefore, Area C was, at the time that Areas A and B were established, separated by this road, which survives from 1901. Discussions with local residents indicated that no graves were found when their corrugated iron shed and surrounding houses were constructed. An examination of their yards found no indication of burial sites, though the only way to confirm this, would be by using ground penetrating radar.

An important aspect of the cemetery is the presence of a number of engraved headstones, many unfortunately broken. In 2003, 22 complete or partial engraved headstones dating from November 1901 to April 1902 were found.

During the May 2007 survey, GPS readings were taken all around the cemetery. In June and July 2008, the cemetery survey was undertaken, with Kgosi Joseph Gaorekwe's permission.

The method used to identify graves was that they had to consist of some cobbles, preferably still embedded in the ground, not just loose cobbles on the surface. Headstones made from stone other than calcrete would be recorded. Headstones embedded in situ and which had broken tops protruding above ground level would be excavated to reveal missing pieces or engravings which were below ground level. No work that might compromise any human remains was considered.

After establishing a base line, a system of 10 metre squares was set up within the grid in Area C with each ten metre square then divided into four. The top and bottom of each grave in relation to the main base line and the relevant corner peg was recorded. Engraved stones were plotted onto a GPS. Area A was surveyed and a portion of Area B. The total number of graves surveyed was 1639, approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the cemetery. It is likely that at least 2000 graves or more comprise the cemetery, confirming the 2001 hypothesis.

Additionally, individual graves could contain multiple burials and therefore the final death toll could be higher. This practice was already implemented on compound burials in Kimberley. Conditions in the camp were worse than that of a pre-war compound, due to starvation, infectious diseases, heat and the weakened physical condition of the grave diggers performing the burials (Van der Merwe et. al. 2010). Consequently, it is possible that multiple burials occurred, to be confirmed through remote sensing, ground penetrating radar, in the future.

## **DISCUSSION**

The death statistics recorded in the monthly camp returns for the Native Refugee Department's Forced Labour Camps, identified Dry Harts Camp as having the highest death rates out of all of



the Department's camps. They record 427 deaths, an average of 106 per month over four months. Applying this average over 12 months' totals 1281 fatalities. Of the seven registers located, only four of the monthly returns list the death statistics. In addition, from April 1902 onwards, the camp administrators stopped forwarding death statistics to headquarters where the monthly returns were printed.

The archaeological survey notes that the cemetery contains at least 2000 individual graves in which multiple burials are likely. This number far exceeds that of the written archive in which four months of death statistics were recorded during the 12-month period that the camp existed. Consequently, commenting on the camps and fatalities using only the written record, as scholars have previously done, is inadequate.

This article identifies that the forced labourers experienced a diet inadequate to sustain life, resulting in scurvy, pellagra and malnutrition, deteriorating health and inevitably death. The absence of any ration tins or dumps in the archaeological survey confirms that the only nutritional source supplied to the internees was mealie meal, an animal feed known as ('gars'). Poor health in turn lowered their resistance to disease and infection (Scott 2015) leading to an increased susceptibility to measles and scurvy. Lethargy, apathy, and inevitably starvation was the inevitable result.

No tents were issued. Material to build shelters was left behind during the interim internment at Taung, resulting in exposure to the elements. Death by waterborne diseases is established. There were no trees and no way to boil water. Typhoid, enteric and dysentery contaminated drinking and cooking water.

There is no record of any doctor other than a medical assistant appointed in August 1902. Through culpable negligence many died of scurvy. Medical comforts were only issued during three of seven months where records exist and, in all likelihood, the only time during the year the camp existed.

Most graves are calcrete mounds without engraved tombstones. Some have calcrete headstones and footstones. Forty-two engraved tombstones were located. Twenty-one stones were located engraved with a name. One marker of corrugated iron was found. Fourteen are dated by year of death, six list the month of death and one records the date of birth. Five stones depict the Christian cross (+), one with an engraved open Bible.

Three children's graves had stone tools as objects placed on top of the grave. Significant in that a search of the surrounding countryside never located a single stone tool, suggesting that the children brought them into the camp. Possibly they were talismans and placed on their owners' graves. All other objects placed on top of the graves were made from metal, two of which were enamelled.

One engraved stone is that of a Dutch speaker, the remainder are African language speakers. Of interest is that three stones list personal details in English, possibly commissioned by relatives and paid for with cash. An English-speaking stonemason with the garrison engraved in English after receiving the deceased's particulars, probably verbally, hence the phonetic spelling of names. Also possible is that this mason carved the elaborate geometric engravings and polished some of the stones and gave them to the relatives who, using nails, engraved with cursive writing the deceased's particulars.

Two cases of erecting engraved stones at the head of the grave exist. The rest are anchored against the foot of the cobbled mound. A practice identical to many Boer graves from the war, indicating the presence of farm workers.



**FIG 6.** *Gravestone of Sara TH Baletsa: Born 1890. Died 1901 (author's photograph).*



**FIG 7.** *Gravestone of Sani Dami: Born 21 February 1881. Died 9 November 1901 (author's photograph).*

## **CONCLUSION**

This article constitutes the first history dedicated solely to the memory of Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp, one of many black concentration camps established by the British forces during the South African War. Histories of these camps to date are broad in their analysis, relying solely on the surviving and fragmentary archive created during and immediately after the conflict. As the article demonstrates, these approaches have limitations. One key limitation being that they rely on records created by the British military and colonial authorities. In these war records the experience and memory of the black civilians who experienced camps, such as Dry Harts, remain silent. It is as if they are expunged from the past.

However, as is shown, archaeology offers tangible evidence of this experience. When combined with the intangible resources of oral history and memory, and in turn linking these two resources with the written archive, a deeper insight is gained. Past experience can be recovered in greater and specific detail. Much work remains to be done around the black concentration camps, specifically in moving away from broad histories, into more localised case studies, such as this example of the Dry Harts Camp.

The written archive, archaeological landscape and surviving memory establishes Dr Harts Camp as one of the worst, if not the worst, forced labour camps. The internees were not casual victims of the British army. Instead they were subjected to unprecedented levels of systemised incarceration, forced labour, violence and mass fatalities on a 'let die basis'. Driven from their burning homes at gunpoint, their assets looted, they finally ended up in Dry Harts Forced Labour Camp.

Under conditions of appalling neglect, their forced labour was not enough to save their lives and thousands perished.

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## FIGURES

FIG 1. The original caption for this photograph is: Internees and Transport from Transport Train, Kimberley (1901) This photograph was taken at Kimberley Railway Station and depicts internees, with their possessions loaded into a railway truck. Note the empty sacks which would be used to construct shelters. Dated 1901, these people are about to be railed to Dry Harts and this is the only photograph ever identified to date depicting a specific group of internees in a specific place and linked to specific events.

FIG 2. Overall view of the Dry Harts area. The cemetery is the Northern edge of the camp, which lay immediately to its South, its living area and rubbish dumps overlaid by the contemporary village of Ntswanahatse. Google earth. Imagery Date: 12/17/2014. 27°19'16.29" S 24°41'53.73" E. Elevation 1115m, eye altitude 5.92 km.

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